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## TEWA RELATIONSHIP TERMS

By JOHN P. HARRINGTON

THE Tewa-speaking Pueblo Indians occupy at present five villages northwest of Santa Fé, New Mexico, and one village in northeastern Arizona. Each village has its peculiar dialect, but the dialectic differences are very slight. The notes embodied in this paper were obtained at the villages of San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, San Juan, and Nambé, all near Santa Fé. The writer acknowledges his deep indebtedness to Miss B. W. Freire-Marreco, whose study of the social and governmental organization of the Tewa has given her a rare insight into the Tewa customs of expressing relationship and the like.

No other set of relationship terms of Southwestern Indians has been studied in which the classificatory system is so little developed as in Tewa. The writer believes that in the common talk of the Tewa Indians more descriptive terms denoting relationship are used than even in our highly analytic English system.

The peculiar use of postjoined 'ε in many of the terms is worthy of further attention than can be given to it in the present paper. It appears that nothing like it has been discovered in any other Southwestern language. The original meaning of 'ε seems to be 'offspring,' 'son,' 'daughter.' Postjoined to any term denoting blood-relationship with the exception of *tara* 'father', *jija* 'mother', and *m̥ʰʰm̥ʰ* 'male cousin', it gives what the younger of two relatives by descent calls the elder by descent. Thus: *nabi t'εε*, 'my grandfather', . . . . response: *nabi t'εε'ε*, 'my grandchild'; *nabi sa'aja*, 'my grandmother', . . . . response: *nabi sa'aja'ε*, 'my grandchild.' *tu'ʷnu*, 'uncle,' forms *tu'ε*, 'nephew or niece of an uncle,' not *tu'ʷnu'ε*, as we should expect. *tara'ε* and *jija'ε* are merely familiar forms of *tara* and *jija*, 'father' and 'mother,' like German *Väterchen* and *Mütterchen*, although we have regularly enough *nabi kwatara'ε*, 'my stepchild,' said by a father, and *nabi kwajija'ε*, 'my stepchild,'

said by a mother. With this system of nomenclature it is interesting to compare such English usages as when a child says: "Auntie!" and its aunt answers, "O you dear Auntie's child!" Thus, also, in Tewa: "*kc'c*," 'aunt!'—response: "'*μ'μ* *kc'c'ε*," 'you nephew or niece!' But Tewa *kc'c'ε* signifies nephew or niece of an aunt irrespective of age or condition. This same 'ε is also the common diminutive-forming postjunct of the language, and can as such be added to relationship terms which already end in 'ε. Thus *kc'c'ε'ε*, 'little nephew or niece of an aunt' (*kc'c'ε*, nephew or niece of an aunt; 'ε, diminutive). For the sake of brevity, 'ε has been called the diminutive in giving etymologies in this paper. Some of the terms that indicate relationship through marriage may also add 'ε with this same peculiar force. The meaning of *mε'εmε'ε* seems to be irregular. (See below.)

Separate terms are used to express relationship through marriage, with the exception of *tara*, *tara'ε*, *jija*, *jija'ε*, *tu'μny*, *tu'ε*, *kc'c*, *kc'c'ε*, *mε'εmε'ε*. The words meaning 'man' and 'woman' may also be used to signify 'husband' and 'wife,' just as in many other languages, although special terms with the latter meaning are also in use. Thus one may express 'my husband' in six ways:

*naḥi t'cwà,*

*naḥi sεη,*

*naḥi sεη,*

*naḥi sεndc,*

*naḥi tara,*

*naḥi tara'ε,*

and 'my wife' in the following five:

*naḥi t'cwà,*

*naḥi kwi,*

*naḥi kwijc,*

*naḥi jija,*

*naḥi jija'ε.*

The Tewa live compactly in villages, and probably a larger number of individuals see one another daily than is the case with most non-Pueblo Indians. Moreover, the names of the dead are freely mentioned by the Tewa and the relationships of the dead are freely

discussed. Nevertheless, remote relationships do not appear to be remembered or kept account of as well as among such tribes as the Ute or the Yuma. It may be, of course, that in modern times the Tewa have become careless in this respect.

The free everyday use of relationship terms between individuals who are not actually related as the terms indicate is encountered everywhere in the Southwest. The custom is explained as a spontaneous expression of a deep feeling of friendship or kinship that runs through the thought of the Indians. Especially when misfortune or sorrow are present relationship terms are freely indulged in. Among the Yumans of the lower Colorado river valley one hears this custom carried to the extreme on the occasion of a cremation. While standing about the burning pyre, individuals who have no known relationship to each other embrace, or one lays hands on the other, and one hears amid their sobs, "Oh, my younger brother," "Oh, my elder brother," or any other terms which seem appropriate.

A number of the Tewa terms have peculiar usages aside from their primary usage, being employed in addressing certain officers, divinities, and the like. Some of the terms have what seem to the English speaker to be several meanings. Thus: *t'cwà* signifies 'person,' 'people,' 'human being as distinct from other animals,' 'husband,' 'wife,' 'tribe,' 'clan,' 'phratry,' 'Indian as distinct from other peoples.' To the Tewa mind *t'cwà* seems to be the label of a single conception.

The Tewa practise monogamy, marriage being celebrated or solemnized by a native and also by a Christian ceremony. Unmarried girls are frequently used by young men and sometimes by older men, although there is now not so much of this "immorality" as formerly. It used to be common for a girl's first babe to be born before marriage. There is a woman now living at San Ildefonso who has given birth to three children without being married. The courtships are usually very shy. The man must obtain permission from the girl's parents before wedding her. It is well known by the villagers that certain women have lewd tendencies. Women who have illicit intercourse with Mexicans or Americans are looked

down upon by other members of the tribe. But there is no prejudice at all against a Tewa girl or woman marrying a Mexican or American in the regular way. Mr Thomas S. Dozier, an American of Española, has been married to a Santa Clara woman for years, and she has borne him eight children. The Indians appear to be quite proud of this union. Mr Eulogio Cata, an Indian of San Juan, has a Mexican wife, and it is the opinion of the Indians of San Juan that he has married well. The people usually keep quite straight in sexual matters and are mostly free from genital diseases. At present the men live with their wives and children and are uncertain whether Tewa men in ancient times slept in the kivas or with their wives and children as at the present time.

The clans at the Tewa villages are fairly numerous. A tentative list of Tewa clans is given by Mr F. W. Hodge in his article on Pueblo Indian Clans.<sup>1</sup> Each clan occupies a certain locality in the pueblo. Tewa children belong to the clan of the father. The clans of each village are united in two groups or phratries—the *tenuri'įńt'cwà*, 'winter people', and the *pajcgeri'įńt'cwà*, 'summer people.' A clan, wherever it occurs, always belongs to the same phratry. The "winter people" are also called *k'uñx t'owà*, 'turquoise people'; the "summer people" are also called *pot'owà*, 'squash people'. A turquoise clan, if it occurs, belongs to the winter people, a squash clan to the summer people.

The government is in the hands of many officers, all of whom have religious as well as governmental functions. Matters pertaining to social organization and government are as difficult to investigate as are the religious ideas and practices of the Tewa. Miss B. W. Freire-Marreco furnished the writer with the following account of naming, for which she in turn is indebted to Miss Clara True, of the Española valley. Four days after birth the naming ceremony takes place. Before sunrise a female relative of the mother comes to the house where the mother and infant are to be found. The father holds the child up, standing in the doorway. The female relative has previously placed sacred water in one side of a two-bowled vessel of peculiar shape and sacred meal in the other side.

<sup>1</sup> *American Anthropologist*, vol. IX, no. 4, Oct. 1896, pp. 345-352.

She now sprinkles the water and meal by means of her hand from the vessel in the direction of the rising sun while the father holds the child aloft, and she gives the child not more than four names appropriate to the season. She may give only one name, but most children receive two or three. After this ceremony the mother is supposed to go to bed for four days more. She is really up and about most of the time. About the eighth day the child is taken to be baptized in the Catholic church. Certain names are appropriate to children born in certain months. The female relative who sprinkles the meal and water knows names suitable to the season. She is chosen by the child's mother. It is not clear whether she must be a real relative. Some of the details given above relative to naming agree with fragmentary information obtained by the writer. Most adults have only one Indian name, which is always a compound word made by putting together two simple words so that the whole has a meaning. In many instances nicknames are applied, or only a part of the full compound name is in use. As typical men's names of San Ildefonso we might name in translation: Quivering Stars, White Cloud, Medicine Mountain, Daylight Mountain, Sun Bird, Cloud Stick, Cloud Painting, Rockpine Bird, Falling Flower, Macaw Bird, Eagle Tail, Bluebird Tail, Mountain Lion Mountain, Sun Painting, Cottonwood Yellowness Quivering (referring to a species of yellow bird seen jumping in the cottonwoods), White Lake, Mountain Wood, Little Mountain, Willow Bird. Some of the women's names are in translation: Leaf Bird (referring to an actual species of bird), White Flower, Waco Flower, Opuntia Flower, Mountain Water, Sun Leaf, Flower Leaf (that is, "petal"), Mountain-Lion Stalk (that is, "fern"), Squash Flower, Abalone Zigzag, Flower Frost, Yellow Flower, Yellow Leaf, Rose Flower, Flower Zigzag, Aspen Flower, Spruce Zigzag, Blue Turquoise, Lake Frost, All-colored Flower, Yucca Baccata Flower. Each Indian has also a Spanish name, the given part of which is received at the baptism. The Tewa know the Spanish names of most of the adult Tewa of the same village, although when talking among themselves only the popular forms of the Tewa names are used. At a non-progressive pueblo, such as the

Keres village of Santo Domingo, the Spanish names of Indians are surprisingly little known and used.

The Tewa relationship terms will be presented below under four heads: consanguinity, relationship through marriage, sex and age, and miscellaneous. In the case of consanguinity and relationship through marriage the items are headed by Indian words; for miscellaneous, English terms serve to introduce the various items.

Immediately following each relationship term listed below under consanguinity and relationship through marriage will be found indicated in parentheses whether the term may be applied by male only, by female only, or by both male and female. (m.) stands for male, (f.) for female, (m. f.) for male or female.

The 2+ plural of the relationship terms given below is the same as the singular with the following exceptions: 'ε, 'son,' 'daughter,' when not compounded can have either 'ε or 'εñæ in the 2+ plural; terms ending in 'i' change this 'i' to 'iη in the 2+ plural.

Each of the relationship terms has been tested and investigated by applying it to a considerable number of actual relationships, using Indians' names. Only the results of this work are here presented; the details are omitted.

We have in Tewa: (a) terms applied by persons of one sex only to persons of either sex, e. g., *k'c'c'ε*; (b) terms applied by persons of either sex to persons of one sex only, e. g., *mæ'æmæ*; (c) terms applied by persons of one sex only to persons of one sex only, e. g., *sçη*; (d) terms applied by persons of either sex to persons of either sex, e. g., *pa'are*.

The diagrams illustrate the system of nomenclature for consanguineous relationship only. Each diagram represents two collateral lines for four generations. They are self-explanatory. All the possible blood-relationships for which there is a special expression in Tewa are indicated in the diagrams.

The symbols used in writing Tewa and other Indian words in this paper have the following values. The italicized letter or letters of the word in parentheses accompanying each symbol indicates approximately the pronunciation.

(1) Orinasal vowels: *ɑ* (Eng. father, nasalized), *æ* (Eng. man, nasalized), *ɛ* (mod. Greek *ε*, nasalized), *ɨ* (Eng. routine, nasalized), *â* (French *pas*, nasalized), *ɔ* (mod. Greek *ω*, nasalized), *u* (Eng. rule, nasalized).

(2) Oral vowels: *a* (Eng. father), *ε* (mod. Greek *ε*), *i* (Eng. routine), *ɔ* (mod. Greek *ω*), *u* (Eng. rule).

(3) Semivowels: *j* (Ger. *ja*), *w* (Eng. war).

(4) Larynx consonants: ' (glottal stop), *h* (Eng. how).

(5) Dorsal consonants: *k* (Vienna German *gehen*), *kw* (Vienna German *gehen*, labialized), *k'* (glottalized *k*), *k'* (aspirated *k*), *ŋg* (Eng. finger), *g* (Spanish *abogado*), *gw* (Scotch English *what*), *ŋ* (Eng. sing), *ŋw* (Eng. Langworthy).

(6) Frontal palatalized consonants: *ñ* (Sp. *mañana*).

(7) Frontal consonants: *t* (Vienna German *du*), *t'* (glottalized *t*), *t'* (aspirated *t*), *nd* (Eng. *bandanna*), *r* (Eng. run), *ts* (German *z*, but not aspirated), *ts'* (glottalized *ts*), *s* (Eng. see), *tf* (Eng. *chew*, but not aspirated), *tf'* (Eng. *chew* glottalized), *f* (Eng. ship), *n* (Eng. now).

(8) Lip consonants: *p* (Vienna German *baff*), *p'* (glottalized *p*), *p'* (aspirated *p*), *mb* (Eng. Jumbo), *ɸ* (Sp. *abogado*), *m* (Eng. man).

Superior vowels indicate very short vowel sounds following a glottal stop. In such sounds the voice is apt to be grating or *knarrstimmig*. Syllables over the vowel of which the grave accent is written do not have as loud stress accent as other syllables.

#### CONSANGUINITY

##### *Self*

*nâ* (m. f.). I, myself.

##### *Direct Line*

*tara* (m. f.). (1) 'Father.' As exclamation: *tara*, 'father!' The Mexican loanword *tatà* is also in common use, meaning 'father.' (2) Figuratively. Thus: *nâ'ĩmbi tara jcsì*, our Father, God (*nâ*, I; 'ĩŋ, 2+ plu. animal gender; *bi*, possessive; *tara*, father; *jcsì*, God, < Sp. *Dios*, *Dioses*). (3) Applied by a wife to her husband, who often calls him *tara*, 'father,' as the children of the family do. (4) Applied to the Winter cacique. The Summer



cacique is called *jija*, 'mother.' (5) Compounded in *tarasəndc*, 'aged sire' (*tara*, father; *səndc*, old man), a term used in addressing old men for whom great respect is shown, especially in addressing the Winter cacique. Sometimes abbreviated to *tasəndc*. (6) Compounded as in *tarapi-*, 'fatherless,' 'orphan' (*tara*, father; *pi*, negative).

*tara'ε* (m. f.) (*tara*, father; 'ε, diminutive). Familiar diminutive form of *tara*, 'father.' Used same as *tara* with meanings (1), (2), and (3).

*tatà* (m. f.) (< Sp. *tata*, father, papa). (1) 'Father', 'papa', 'dad', in almost any sense in which *tara*, 'father,' is used, even in sacred language as *tatà jcsì*, 'Father God' (*tatà*, father, < Sp. *tata*; *jcsì*, God, < Sp. *Dios*, *Dioses*). (2) Applied loosely to father, elder brother, father's brother, or other relatives older than self. According to Miss B. W. Freire-Marreco a child at Santa Clara applied *tatà* to its mother's brother, but this was considered to be a child's mistake.

*Terms used in addressing respected old persons.* Old men for whom respect or reverence is shown should be accosted as *tarasəndc* (*tara*, father; *səndc*, old man), often abbreviated to *tasəndc*; for old women for whom like respect or reverence is shown *jijakwijc* (*jija*, mother; *kwijc*, old woman), often abbreviated to *jakwijc*, is used. Since the Winter cacique is called *tara*, 'father,' he should be addressed as *ta(ra)səndc*, while the Summer cacique, who is the *jija*, 'mother,' of the Indians, is spoken to as *j(ij)akwijc*. In working and walking about with the old Winter cacique of Nambé the writer noticed that he was always addressed by the Nambé Indians as *ta(ra)səndc*.

It is barely possible that *tatà* is of Tewa as well as of Spanish origin. The Tewa do not recognize the Spanish origin of the word.

*tatà'ε* (m. f.) (*tatà*, father, < Sp. *tata*; 'ε, diminutive). Familiar diminutive form of *tatà*, 'father.' Used the same as *tatà* with meanings (1) and (2).

*jija* (m. f.) (cf. Keres *jája*, mother). (1) 'Mother.' As exclamation: *jija*, 'mother!' (2) Figuratively. Thus: *nâ'imbi jija*,

- 'our mother,' said of a certain nameless divinity (*nā*, I; 'iŋ, 2+ plu. animal gender; *ði*, possessive; *jija*, mother). (3) Applied by a husband to his wife, who often calls her *jija*, 'mother', as the children of the family do. (4) Applied to the Summer cacique. The Winter cacique is called *tara*, 'father.' (5) Compounded in *jijakwijc*, 'aged dame' (*jija*, mother; *kwijc*, old woman), a term used in addressing old women for whom great respect is shown; also in addressing the Summer cacique. Sometimes abbreviated to *jakwijc*. (6) Compounded as in *jijapi*, 'motherless,' 'orphan' (*jija*, mother; *pi*, negative); *papajija*, 'great grandmother' (*papa*, great grandfather; *jija*, mother).
- jija'ε* (m. f.) (*jija*, mother; 'ε, diminutive). Familiar diminutive form of *jija*, 'mother.' Used same as *jija* with meanings (1), (2), and (3).
- 'ε (m. f.). (The singular has falling intonation. For the 2+ plu. two forms are in use: (a) 'ε, same as sing. but with rising-falling intonation; (b) 'εñæ.) (1) 'son', 'daughter'. (2) In the expression *sendcði* 'ε *kwijcði* 'ε, 'children of the old man and the old woman,' that is, of the Winter cacique and the Summer cacique, 'the Indians of the pueblo.' (3) Familiarly and loosely: 'child,' 'dear.' Thus: *mbihuña*, *naði* 'ε, 'eat, girls!' (*mbi*, you 2+; *huña*, to eat; *naði*, my; 'ε, son, daughter). (4) 'girl sweetheart.' Thus in a song: '*agcjc pčðì*, *naði* 'ε, *wimbc*<sup>c</sup> *winda*<sup>a</sup>, 'Star Flower, thee only do I love' (*agcjc*, star; *pčðì*, flower, *naði*, my; 'ε, son, daughter; *wimbc*<sup>c</sup>, alone; *wi*, I you 1; *nda*<sup>a</sup>, to want, to love). (5) Postjoined to any noun in the language as diminutive particle. When thus used the 2+ plural is never 'εñæ. Thus: *k'u*, 'stone'; *k'u*'ε, 'little stone.'
- t'εtε* (m. f.). (1) 'Grandfather,' that is, father's father or mother's father. (2) Applied to the *tsabijc*, Sp. "abuelo." An Indian personified as this divinity goes about on certain occasions whipping the children of the village. He is always called *t'εtε*, 'grandfather.' (3) Compounded as in *papat'εtε*, 'great grandfather' (*papa*, great grandfather; *t'εtε*, grandfather).
- t'εtε'ε* (m.). (*t'εtε*, grandfather; 'ε, diminutive). 'Grandson', 'granddaughter', that is, son's son, son's daughter, daughter's son, daughter's daughter.

*sa'aja* (m. f.). (1) 'Grandmother', that is, father's mother, mother's mother). (2) Compounded as in *papasa'aja*, 'great grandmother' (*papa*, great grandfather; *sa'aja*, grandmother). *sa'aja'ε* (f.) (*sa'aja*, grandmother; 'ε, diminutive). 'Grandson', 'granddaughter', that is, son's son, son's daughter, daughter's son, daughter's daughter.

*papa* (m. f.). (1) 'Great grandfather', that is, father's father's father, father's mother's father, mother's father's father, mother's mother's father. Also commonly used in expressions such as *t'εε̃bi papa*, 'grandfather's great grandfather', 'male ancestor'. (2) Compounded as in *papat'εε*, 'great grandfather' (*papa*, great grandfather; *t'εε*, grandfather), etc. The form *papa* appears in all non-analytic expressions denoting the third generation removed.

*papa'ε* (m.) (*papa*, great grandfather; 'ε, diminutive). 'Great grandson', 'great granddaughter', that is, son's son's son, son's son's daughter, son's daughter's son, son's daughter's daughter, daughter's son's son, daughter's son's daughter, daughter's daughter's son, daughter's daughter's daughter.

*papat'εε* (m. f.) (*papa*, great grandfather; *t'εε*, grandfather). 'Great grandfather', that is, father's father's father, father's mother's father, mother's father's father, mother's mother's father. Perhaps commoner than mere *papa*, which has the same meaning.

*papat'εε'ε* (m.) (*papat'εε*, great grandfather; 'ε, diminutive). 'Great grandson,' 'great granddaughter,' that is, son's son's son, son's son's daughter, son's daughter's son, son's daughter's daughter, daughter's son's son, daughter's son's daughter, daughter's daughter's son, daughter's daughter's daughter.

*papasa'aja* (m. f.) (*papa*, great grandfather; *sa'aja*, grandmother). 'Great grandmother,' that is, father's father's mother, father's mother's mother, mother's father's mother, mother's mother's mother.

*papasa'aja'ε* (f.) (*papasa'aja*, great grandmother; 'ε, diminutive). 'Great grandson', 'great granddaughter', that is, son's son's son, son's son's daughter, son's daughter's son, son's daughter's

daughter, daughter's son's son, daughter's son's daughter, daughter's daughter's son, daughter's daughter's daughter.

*papajija* (m. f.) (*papa*, great grandfather; *jija*, mother). 'Great grandmother,' that is, father's father's mother, father's mother's mother, mother's father's mother, mother's mother's mother. Equivalent to *papasa'aja*. A corresponding masculine form, *papatara* (*papa*, great grandfather; *tara*, father) is not used.

*papajija'ε* (f.) (*papajija*, great grandmother; 'ε, diminutive). 'Great grandson,' 'great granddaughter,' that is son's son's son, son's son's daughter, son's daughter's son, son's daughter's daughter, daughter's son's son, daughter's son's daughter, daughter's daughter's son, daughter's daughter's daughter.

### Collateral Lines

*pa'are* (m. f.). (I) 'Elder brother', 'elder sister', 'brother or sister older than self'. The Tewa render *pa'are* in Spanish by *hermano* or *hermana*, according to the natural gender. The other Tanoan languages formally distinguish sex in the designations of elder brother or elder sister. Thus: Isleta *'impapei*, 'my elder brother'; *'intutei*, 'my elder sister'; Taos *'anpapanā*, 'my elder brother'; *'antictunā*, 'my elder sister'; Jemez *nī'upaḥ'ε*, 'my elder brother'; *nī'ukck'a'ε*, 'my elder sister'. Tewa stands alone in not formally distinguishing sex in this relationship term; it will be noticed that the words in the other Tanoan languages meaning 'elder brother' seem to contain the same root as Tewa *pa'are*. As an adjective *pa'are-* means 'first.' Thus: *k'u pa'are'i'i*, 'the first stone' in a row. If one has several *Geschwister* elder than self they may be distinguished thus: *pa'are pa'are'i'i*, 'eldest brother' (*pa'are*, elder brother or sister; *pa'are*, first; *i'i*, postfix denoting sing., animal gender); *pa'are pa'are'iri'i*, 'elder brother or sister next in age to eldest brother or sister' (*pa'are*, elder brother or sister; *pa'are*, first; *iri*, next following; *i'i*, postfix denoting sing., animal gender); *pa'are (pa'are)pcwinge'iri'i*, 'elder brother or sister second in age to eldest brother or sister' (*pa'are*, elder brother or sister; *pa'are*, first; *pcwinge*, in the third place; *iri*, next following; *i'i*, post-



self. (3) The senior officer or officers of each governmental body. Miss Barbara Freire-Marreco informs the writer that the "capitan mayor" is *pa'are* to the other "capitanes," the "fiscal

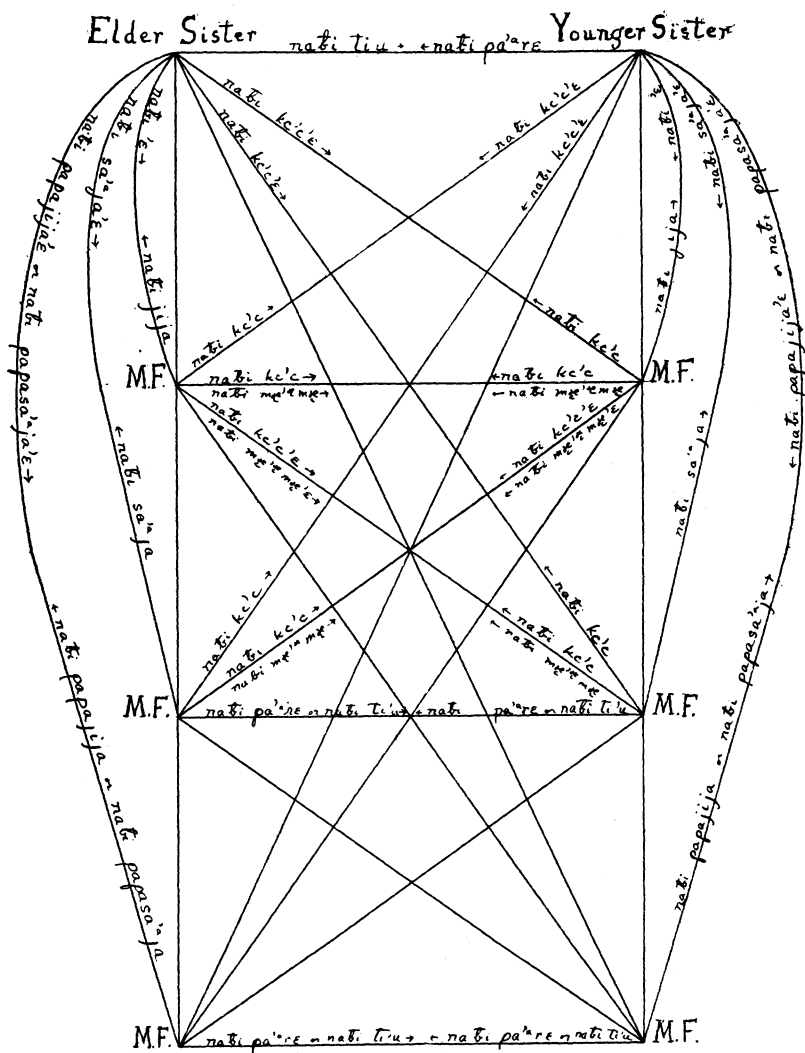


FIG. 56

mayor" *pa'are* to the other "fiscals"; the Summer cacique is *pa'are* to Elisio Paladura and José Guadalupe at Santa Clara.







or sister; *pa'are*, elder brother or sister). This term is said to be used especially in council.

*ti'u* (m. f.). (1) 'Younger brother,' 'younger sister,' 'brother or sister younger than self.' The Tewa render *ti'u* in Spanish by *hermanito* or *hermanita*, according to the natural gender. The other Tanoan languages formally distinguish sex in the designations of younger brother or younger sister. Thus: Isleta '*imp'ai'uei*', 'my younger brother'; '*imp'atuei*', 'my younger sister'; Taos '*anp'ainā*', 'my younger brother'; '*anp'aju'unā*', 'my younger sister'; Jemez '*ni'upetu'e*', 'my younger brother'; '*ni'up'a'e*', 'my younger sister'. Tewa stands alone, as in the case of *pa'are*, in not formally distinguishing sex in this relationship term. It will be noticed that the Isleta term meaning younger sister and the Jemez term meaning younger brother may contain a syllable akin to Tewa *ti'u*. As in the case of *pa'are*, the sex of the *ti'u* may be indicated by adding one of the age-sex nouns. (2) Loosely applied to second, third, or fourth cousin or other relative or person younger than self. (3) Applied to a novice, a person newly initiated. (4) Compounded as in the expression *ti'upa'are*, 'younger persons and elders'. See above under *pa'are*.

*tu'unu* (m. f.). (1) 'Uncle,' that is, father's elder brother, father's younger brother, mother's elder brother, mother's younger brother. Miss Freire-Marreco says that *tatā* is also heard designating this relationship. (2) 'Great uncle,' that is, grandfather's or grandmother's elder or younger brother. This relationship is also expressed by a descriptive term such as *t'etēbi ti'u* 'grandfather's younger brother (or sister)' (*t'etē*, grandfather; *bi*, possessive; *ti'u*, younger brother or sister). (3) Also used loosely, and of certain relationships through marriage. For the latter, see below.

*tu'e* (m.) (*tu*, in this compound equivalent to *tu'unu*; 'e, diminutive). (1) 'Nephew,' 'niece,' that is, elder or younger brother's or sister's son or daughter. (2) 'Great nephew,' 'great niece,' that is, elder or younger brother's or sister's son's or daughter's son or daughter. (3) Also used loosely, and of certain relationships through marriage. For the latter, see below.

*kc'c* (m. f.). (1) 'Aunt,' that is, father's elder sister, father's younger sister, mother's elder sister, mother's younger sister. (2) 'Great aunt,' that is, grandfather's or grandmother's elder or younger sister. This relationship is perhaps more frequently expressed by a descriptive term. (3) Female first cousin (German *Base* or *Cousine*). (4) Aunt second removed. (5) Also used loosely, and of certain relationships through marriage. For the latter, see below.

*kc'c'ε* (f.). (*kc'c*, aunt; 'ε, diminutive). (1) 'Nephew,' 'niece,' that is, elder or younger brother's or sister's son or daughter. (2) 'Great nephew,' 'great niece,' that is, elder or younger brother's or sister's son's or daughter's son or daughter. (3) Female cousin second removed. (4) Also used loosely, and of certain relationships through marriage. For the latter, see below.

*mɤ'ɤmɤ* (m. f.). (1) 'Male first cousin' (German *Vetter* or *Cousin*). According to Miss Freire-Marreco *tatà* is also used for this relationship. (2) 'Uncle second removed.' (3) Also used loosely, and of certain relationships through marriage. For the latter, see below.

*mɤ'ɤmɤ'ε* (m. f.). (*mɤ'ɤmɤ*, male first cousin; 'ε, diminutive). (1) 'Male cousin second removed.' (2) Also used loosely, and of certain relationships through marriage. For the latter, see below.

#### RELATIONSHIP THROUGH MARRIAGE

Descriptive terms denoting relationship through marriage are even commoner than those denoting consanguineous relationship. Thus one may say *naḃi sɕmbi tara*, 'my father-in-law' (*naḃi*, my; *sɕŋ*, husband; *ḃi*, possessive; *tara*, father), instead of *naḃi jasɛndc*, 'my father-in-law', etc.

*t'cwà* (m. f.). 'Husband,' 'wife.' The word has also several other meanings. See elsewhere in this paper.

*sɕŋ* (f.). 'Husband.' This is said to be an old word, very little used at present.

*sɛŋ* (f.). 'Man in prime,' 'husband.' See also under sex-age nouns.

*sɛndc* (f.). 'Old man,' 'husband.' See also under sex-age nouns. Cf. Sp. *mi viejo*.

*tara* (f.). 'Father,' 'husband.' Often used just as wives call their husbands "father" in English, German, and Spanish.

*tara'ε* (f.). (*tara*, father, husband; 'ε, diminutive). Familiar diminutive of *tara*, 'father'. 'Father', 'husband'. Cf. *tara*, above.

*kwi* (m.). 'Woman in prime,' 'wife.' See also under sex-age nouns.

*kwijc* (m.). 'Old woman,' 'wife.' See also under sex-age nouns. Cf. Sp. *mi vieja*.

*jija* (m.). 'Mother,' 'wife.' Often used just as husbands call their wives "mother" in English and German.

*jija'ε* (m.). (*jija*, mother, wife; 'ε, diminutive). Familiar diminutive of *jija*, 'mother.' 'Mother,' 'wife.' Cf. *jija*, above.

*sa'i<sup>i</sup>* (m.). 'Bride' already married or about to be married.

*jasεndc* (m. f.) (*ja*, as also in *jakwijc*, see below; *sεndc*, old man). 'Father-in-law,' that is, husband's father, wife's father.

*jakwijc* (m. f.) (*ja*, as also in *jasεndc*, see above; *kwijc*, old woman). 'Mother-in-law,' that is, husband's mother, wife's mother.

*sεñiŋgi* (m. f.). (1) 'Son-in-law' that is, daughter's husband. (2) Applied to son's daughter's husband or to daughter's daughter's husband. (3) Loosely applied to son-in-law of relative or other person. Thus at Santa Clara L. T. calls S. N.'s son-in-law *sεñiŋgi*, just as S. N. himself does. L. T. is S. N.'s uncle once removed.

*sa'ε* (m. f.) (*sa*, ? ; 'ε, diminutive?). (1) 'Daughter-in-law', that is, son's wife. (2) Applied to son's son's wife or daughter's son's wife. (3) Loosely applied to daughter-in-law of relative or friend.

*ja'a* (m. f.). 'Any consanguineous relative of husband or wife.' Used mostly to denote distant or vague relationships of this sort. For greater definiteness descriptive terms are used instead of *ja'a*. When *ja'a* is applied by a wife to her husband's relatives, it is equivalent to *matc'i<sup>i</sup>*.

*matc'i<sup>i</sup>* (f.). 'Any consanguineous relative of husband.' Used mostly to denote distant or vague relationships of this sort. For greater definiteness descriptive terms are used. The term *ja'a*, see above, may be substituted for *matc'i<sup>i</sup>* in every instance.

*tu'ɥnu* (m. f.). 'Husband of *kc'c*,' which means 'aunt,' etc. See above. The primary meaning of *tu'ɥnu* is 'consanguineous uncle'. See above. But when *kc'c* means female cousin *mɛ'ɛmɛ* must be used instead of *tu'ɥnu*. See below.

*tu'ɛ* (m.) (for etymology see above). 'Husband of *kc'c'ɛ*,' which means 'niece,' etc. See above. The primary meaning of *tu'ɛ* is 'consanguineous nephew or niece.' See above. But when *kc'c'ɛ* means female cousin twice removed, *mɛ'ɛmɛ'ɛ* must be used instead of *tu'ɛ*. See below.

*kc'c* (m. f.). 'Wife of *tu'ɥnu*,' which means 'uncle,' etc. See above. The primary meaning of *kc'c* is 'consanguineous aunt,' etc. See above.

*kc'c'ɛ* (f.) (for etymology see above). 'Wife of *tu'ɛ*,' which means 'nephew,' etc. See above. The primary meaning of *kc'c'ɛ* is 'consanguineous nephew or niece.' See above.

*mɛ'ɛmɛ* (m. f.). 'Husband of *kc'c* when the latter word means consanguineous female cousin.' For the husband of *kc'c* in other meanings *tu'ɥnu* and not *mɛ'ɛmɛ* is used. The primary meaning of *mɛ'ɛmɛ* is 'consanguineous male first cousin.' See above.

*mɛ'ɛmɛ'ɛ* (m. f.). 'Husband of *kc'c'ɛ* when the latter word means 'consanguineous female cousin twice removed'. For the husband of *kc'c'ɛ* in other meanings *tu'ɛ* and not *mɛ'ɛmɛ'ɛ* is used. The primary meaning of *mɛ'ɛmɛ'ɛ* is 'consanguineous male cousin twice removed'. See above.

*Step-relationship*. Step-relationship is indicated by prejoining *kwa* to any one of the relationship terms. Thus: *kwatara*, 'step father' (*kwa*, step-; *tara*, father). *nabi kwasa'a*, 'my step-grandmother', has both meanings of English step-grandmother: my grandfather's wife not my mother or my real or step-father's or mother's step-mother. As in the case of English *step-*, *kwa-* is often omitted. The only irregularity which the usage of *kwa*-compounds presents is that no such form as *kwa'ɛ* exists. Stepson or stepdaughter is called by the father *kwatara'ɛ* (*kwa*, step-; *tara*, father; 'ɛ, diminutive), by the mother *kwajija'ɛ* (*kwa*, step-; *jija*, mother; 'ɛ, diminutive).

Thus without *kwa* prejoined *tara'ε* and *jija'ε* mean merely father and mother; with *kwa* prejoined they mean stepson or stepdaughter of father and stepson or stepdaughter of mother.

*Bachelor, old-maid.* 'Unmarried person,' whether young or old, can be expressed only by descriptive terms. Thus: *winâkwimupi*, 'he has no wife' (*wi*, negative; *nâ*, he-her; *kwi*, woman in prime, wife; *mu*, to have; *pi*, negative); *winâsεηmupi*, 'she has no husband' (*wi*, negative; *nâ*, she-him; *sεη*, man in prime, husband; *mu*, to have; *pi*, negative). Such expressions are also applied to celibates, such as Catholic priests, monks, and nuns.

*Widower, widow.* Such expressions as the following might be used: '*îbi kwi*' *μηtsu*, 'his wife is dead' ('*i*, he; *îbi*, possessive; *kwi*, woman in prime, wife; '*μη*, she with reference to him; *tsu*, to be dead); '*îbi sεη*' *μηtsu*, 'her husband is dead' ('*i*, she; *îbi*, possessive; *sεη*, man in prime, husband; '*μη*, he with reference to her; *tsu*, to be dead).

#### SEX AND AGE

The following terms denote combinations of sex and age.

'*ε* (2 + plu. '*ε* or '*εñx*). This word means 'baby', 'infant', 'child' as well as 'son,' 'daughter,' 'girl sweetheart' given above.

'*ε'εnukε* (2 + plu. '*ε'εnyη'εñx*), 'young boy.'

'*a'añukε* (2 + plu. '*a'añnyη'εñx*), 'young girl.'

'*ε'εnu* (2 + plu. '*ε'εnunη*), 'boy at adolescence.' Sometimes also used of a boy who has not yet had intercourse.

'*a'añu* (2 + plu. '*a'añnyη*), 'girl at adolescence.' Sometimes also used of a girl who has not yet had intercourse.

*sεη* (2 + plu. *sεηnx'xη*), 'man in prime'.

*kwi* (2 + plu. *kwiñx'xη*), 'woman in prime'.

*sεndc* (2 + plu. *sεnda*), 'old man.' Also used very much in addressing or speaking of old people for whom respect is shown, especially an aged head of a family or master of a house. It would not be applied to a man under forty or forty-five years of age, although the Tewa age quickly. Note also special usages mentioned elsewhere.

*kwiċ* (2 + plu. *kwiċ* with rising-falling intonation of last syllable; the singular has falling intonation of last syllable). The word is used much as is *sęndc* to show respect for aged women. Note also special usages mentioned elsewhere.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

*Relationship terms figuratively used.* Relationship terms are applied very freely to persons who do not bear the relationship the terms indicate. Children are taught to apply the proper words to non-relatives as well as relatives as soon as they can talk. By a certain child one of the parents' more elderly male friends was called *tara*, 'father'. A younger male friend of the family but older than the child itself was called *pa'are*, 'elder brother'. The wife of the friend called *tara* was termed *sa'aja*, 'grandmother', and not *jija*, 'mother', although the latter term corresponds to *tara*, 'father'. Miss Freire-Marreco reports that when living at Santa Clara village she was called *sa'aja*, 'grandmother', by the younger generation, while by the older people she was called *kc'c*, 'aunt', 'female cousin'. One entire family of intimate friends called her *sa'aja*. Perhaps the idea in doing so was that *sa'aja* implies a closer relationship than *kc'c*.

Relationship terms are frequently used before or after Indian names, especially nicknames. Thus: *sa'aja scbc*, 'Grandma Beard', was applied to a lady who had a growth of hair on the face; *tsire sęndc*, 'old bird', is universally applied to the aged Winter cacique of Nambé, although his real name is a compound of *tsire*, 'bird,' with some other word.

Tewa of about the same age who are not intimately related are likely to call each other *ti'u*, 'younger brother or sister', and *pa'are*, 'elder brother or sister'. Second or third cousins or other distant relatives of approximately the same age are also apt to call one another *ti'u* or *pa'are*.

Mr Santiago Naranjo, governor of Santa Clara in 1911, has said: "I wish to see all these people calling each other brother and sister, uncle and aunt." Another Santa Clara Indian has

stated: "When people are drunk at a wedding one hears nothing but *tí'u*, *pa'are*, *kc'c*, *kc'c'ε*, etc."

When people of one Tewa village greet those of another Tewa village, appropriate relationship terms are regularly used. On such occasions one also hears frequently the word *k'emà*, 'friend.' Indians from non-Tewa pueblos and who do not speak Tewa are addressed by the Tewa in Spanish as *hermano*, *hermana*, *hermanito*, *hermanita*, *tata*, *tio*, *tia*, etc. Less frequently, perhaps, *compadre* or *amigo* are applied by the Tewa to alien Indians, these words being reserved for Americans or Mexicans if these be greeted at all. In the summer of 1910 the writer drove from Jemez to Bernalillo in company with an Isleta Indian. The Indian drove the team, the writer walked on ahead. Almost the entire population of Santa Ana pueblo passed us either singly or in groups of two to half a dozen. The Santa Ana people had been working in their fields by the Rio Grande and were bound homeward to attend a dance-festival to be held on the following day. Only one or two of all these Indians deigned to answer the writer when he bade good evening in a most friendly manner in Spanish, although the Isleta Indian who followed along behind was warmly greeted as *hermano*. The Tewa also frequently greet alien Indians by *k'emà*, 'friend.' Such words as Tewa *k'emà*, Jemez *ki'àbà*, Taos *'anpuirwai*, Santo Domingo *sáùke*, meaning 'friend' are known to most Pueblo Indians, even though knowledge of some of the languages on the part of some extends no further.

*Use of tata.* As stated above, it is not certain whether this word is of Mexican or Tewa origin. It is used much by the Tewa both in speaking Spanish and Tewa. Its primary meaning appears to be 'father,' but it is applied indiscriminately to male persons a great deal older than the speaker. It is also used of God in the sense of Father. The corresponding Spanish feminine form *nana* appears not to be used in Tewa. Spanish *papá* and *mamá* appear also to be used in Tewa little or not at all.

*Terms applied to the caciques*

The Winter cacique is called 'c*jike*, 'ice hard' ('c*ji*, ice; k*ε*, hard). The Summer cacique is called p'*c'ætujc*, 'water sitting governor'? (p'*c*, water; 'æ, to sit?; t*ujc*, chief, governor. The Winter cacique is the t*ara*, 'father,' of the people; the Summer cacique is the j*ija*, 'mother.' Whether the Winter cacique is also called s*εndc*, 'old man,' and the Summer cacique k*wijc*, 'old woman,' could not be ascertained. But s*εndc*b*i* 'ε k*wijc*b*i* 'ε 'old man's children and old woman's children,' is an expression heard in council and probably refers to all the people of the village who are considered to be the children of the Winter cacique and Summer cacique.

t*i'upa'*re. In council this term is frequently heard. It means literally 'younger and elder brothers and sisters' and may perhaps refer to the members of a secret society or to the people of the village. Miss Freire-Marreco reports that she has heard the members of a council or general meeting addressed by the speakers as t*i'upa'*re.

*Officer.* No other term than p*a'*re, 'elder brother or sister', could be obtained with the general meaning of officer. Assistants to officers are called k'*c*, 'arms.'

*Elders and novices in secret societies.* It appears that in secret societies the elders are called p*a'*re, 'elder brother or sister', and the novices t*i'u*, 'younger brother or sister'.

*Member of secret society.* A member of any one of the secret societies is called p*at'owà*, 'fish person'. In the plural p*at'owà* is applied to members of any one of the secret societies or those of all the secret societies collectively.

*Principales.* The Spanish word *principal* is applied (1) to the officers of a pueblo, (2) to the men of a pueblo who are or have been governors. The Tewa equivalent for "*principal*" is p*a'*re, 'elder brother or sister'.

*Monks and nuns.* To these the word p*a'*re, 'elder brother or sister', is regularly applied. This usage may be regarded as a translation of Spanish *hermanos*, *hermanas*. A novice in a cloister or convent might be called t*i'u*, 'younger brother or sister.'



"*Father*" as applied to God. Either *tara* or *tatà* renders 'father' as applied to God. Contrary to the usage in some Pueblo languages *tara*, 'father' is not applied to the Sun or Moon, who are both masculine, and to whom *səndc*, 'old man', is applied. The Tewa do not speak of any "Sun-Father".

"*Mother*" as applied to a divinity. It is known that at least to one female divinity the name *jija*, 'mother,' is applied.

*The Holy Virgin*. To the Holy Virgin the name *səntà 'a'añu* (*səntà*, holy, < Sp. *santa*; *'a'añu*, sex-age noun denoting a woman of about sixteen years of age) is applied.

*Shaman*. Shaman is called *wck'cndi'*, 'medicine worker' (*wc*, medicine, magic; *k'cŋ*, to do; *'i'*, particle denoting sing., animate gender).

*Wizard, witch*. Wizard or witch is called *tsug'i'*.

*Roman Catholic priest*. Two terms are in use: *'cqwa* (corruption of *'aqwa*, 'cloth trailer' (*'a*, cloth, vestment; *qwa*, to drag, to trail); *padrè* (< Sp. *padre*, father). Rarely *kurà* (< Sp. *cura*) also is used.

*Term used in addressing the "abuelo."* In addressing the personator of the *tsabijc* or "*abuelo*" *t'ete*, 'grandfather,' is invariably used.

*Slave, captive*. A captive or slave taken in war or otherwise is called *pâŋ*, diminutive *pâŋ'ε*. The Spanish terms are *cautivo*, *genizaro*, *esclavo*.

*Family*. No word meaning 'family' can be discovered.

*Parents*. The Tewa have no word meaning 'parents.' They must say *tara'a jija'a*, 'father and mother' or *jija'a tara'a*, 'mother and father' (*tara*, father; *'a* connective postfix; *jija*, mother, *'a*, connective postfix).

In Indo-Germanic languages words meaning 'parents' seem to have the original meanings of either 'those who give birth' (e. g., Latin *parentes*, Russian *rad'i'mi*), or 'elders' (e. g., German *eltern*).

*Orphan*. A person who has lost both parents by death is called *tarapi'i' jijapi'i'*, 'fatherless and motherless' (*tara*, father; *jija*, mother; *pi*, negative; *'i'*, particle denoting sing., animal gender). For fatherless person *tarapi'i'*, for motherless person *jijapi'i'* is used.

*Brothers and sisters*, German *Geschwister*. If the brothers and sisters referred to are elder than self *pa<sup>a</sup>re* must be used; if younger than self, *ti<sup>u</sup>*. If both elder and younger than self such an expression as *pa<sup>a</sup>re'a ti<sup>u</sup>u'a*, 'elder and younger brothers and sisters', must be used.

*Person, people*. The word *t'cwà* means 'person', 'people', and has several other meanings. See above.

*Tribe*. There is no word meaning tribe except *t'cwà*, 'people.' Such a circumlocution as *hà'g'mìnda t'cwà ngimù*, 'we are a single people' (*hà'g'mìnda*, singly; *t'cwà*, people; *ngi*, we 2+; *mu*, to be) may be used.

*Clan*. For 'clan' *t'cwà* is also employed. Thus *t'aŋt'cwà*, 'the sun people,' 'the sun clan' (*t'aŋ*, the sun; *t'cwà*, people).

*Phratry, clan-group, division*. *T'cwà*, 'people,' is also used with this meaning. Thus: *tenuri'iŋ t'cwà*, 'the winter division,' 'the winter people' (*tenuri*, winter; *iŋ*, particle denoting 2+ plu., animal gender; *t'cwà*, people).

*Somebody, anybody*. As in many other languages expressions denoting 'somebody,' 'anybody' are derived from the numeral 'one' or from the interrogatives. Thus: *ŋa tc<sup>c</sup>hi tara*, 'somebody's father' (*ŋa*, as in *ŋahâŋ*, I do not know; *tc<sup>c</sup>*, who, interrogative; *hi*, possessive; *tara*, father); *wenabi tara*, 'somebody's father' (*wena*, one; *hi*, possessive; *tara*, father).

*Friend*. The word meaning 'friend' is *k'emà*. For uses of *k'emà* see above.

*Companion*. Either *k'emà* or *kcmpa* (< Sp. *compadre*) seems to be used.

*Girl sweetheart*. Several expressions are in use, such as *nabi'a<sup>a</sup>ñu* (*nabi*, my; *a<sup>a</sup>ñu*, maiden, virgin); *nabi'ε* (*nabi*, my; *ε*, son, daughter); *nabi hâŋ* (*nabi*, my; *hâŋ*, pulse, respiration, life, soul); *nabi hâŋ'ε* (*nabi*, my; *hâŋ*, pulse, soul; *ε*, diminutive).

*Enemy, warrior*. The single word *hæmbi<sup>i</sup>* means 'fighter,' 'warrior,' 'private, or public enemy.'

*Brave man*. The commonest expression with this meaning is perhaps *pîntæ'i<sup>i</sup>*, 'brave one,' literally 'heart tough or elastic' (*pîŋ*, heart; *tæ*, tough or elastic; *i<sup>i</sup>*, particle denoting sing., animal gender).

*Coward.* The common expression meaning coward in war or otherwise is *k'ɥŋwɛnda'a'i'i*, which cannot be clearly etymologized. *Ancient, person who lived long ago.* The word *hewendi'i* means 'person who lived long ago.' It may also mean 'ancestor.'

*Ancestor.* Either *hewendi'i*, which properly means merely 'person who lived long ago,' or such expressions as *naɓi t'etɛɓi papa*, 'my grandfather's great grandfather' (*naɓi*, my; *t'etɛ*, grandfather; *ɓi*, possessive; *papa*, great grandfather).

*Descendant.* No used term could be obtained unless it be expressions like *naɓi t'etɛɓi papa'ɛ*, 'my grandchild's great grandchild', said by male (*naɓi*, my; *t'etɛ'ɛ*, grandchild of grandfather; *ɓi*, possessive; *papa'ɛ*, great grandchild of great grandfather).

*Giant.* There are many legends about giants. They are called *t'cwàjɛ* 'great people' (*t'cwà*, person, people; *jɛ*, augmentative).

*Dwarf.* Tewa myths make much mention of giants but none of dwarfs, as far as has been learned. There are two expressions:

- (a) *scpi'i'i* (*sc*, to grow up, to become adult; *pi*, negative; *'i'i*, particle denoting sing., animate gender);
- (b) *mbegi'i'i* (*mbegi*, small and roundish; *'i'i*, particle denoting sing., animate gender).

*Monster, deformed new-born child.* There are only expressions such as *t'ɛki winɛmupi*, 'it is not entire' (*t'ɛki*, entire, whole, perfect; *wi*, negative; *nɛ*, it; *mu*, to be; *pi*, negative).

*Hermaphrodite.* Of an hermaphrodite might be said: *kwi'a 'sɛnda nɛmu*, 'it is woman and man' (*kwi*, woman in prime; *'a*, connective postfix; *sɛn*, man in prime; *'a*, connective postfix; *nɛ*, it; *mu*, to be).

*Name.* Any kind of a name or noun is called *k'ɛŋwɛ*.

*Person who has the same given name as another.* Miss Freire-Marreco gives the information that Santiago Naranjo of Santa Clara called Santiago Cantana of Cochití his "*tckajɛ*". This word is said by her to be applied to a person who has the same given or Christian name as another.

*Dead person.* A dead person is called *ɬu'i'i*, 'dead'. No milder term like 'blessed', 'departed', and the like could be discovered.

The presentation of Tewa relationship words given above is, because of lack of time, not what the writer would have liked to make it. The relationship terms of a number of Indian languages of southwestern United States have been completely recorded and for purposes of comparison should be presented together.

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